1: Garrett B-4, 9 (ca. 1868) 1991
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edges of garments, the men dancing first, and then the women. Mr. Fish thus graphically describes the part taken by ladies in this national recreation:

"The music struck up again the notes of the adagio, and a string of about thirty ladies advanced, hand-in-hand, with slow and graceful steps, resplendent with gold spangles and parti-coloured silks, and without even the pretext of a veil. This was really a beautiful sight, and quite novel to one who had never in the East seen women, especially ladies, as all of these were, so freely mixing with the men without the slightest affectation of concealment. Even the Arab tribeswomen are more scrupulous.

"The line or string of ladies moved slowly and waringly round the cushions, sometimes advancing a step towards the centre, sometimes retiring, balancing their bodies and heads in a very graceful manner. The time was soft and slow, and none of their movements were in the least abrupt or exaggerated. . . . . This exhibition lasted about half an hour. The music then ceased, and the ladies retired to their homes, first veiling themselves from head to foot, which seemed a rather superfluous precaution, as the crowd which was looking on at the dance far exceeded that which they were at any time likely to meet in the streets of Salonica."

The Kirds, being nominally Moslems, the marriage contract is a verbal one, made in the presence of an imám. The bridegroom, accompanied by a number of his relatives and friends, comes to the house of the bride's father, and, after the festivities are concluded, takes her home with him on horseback. Sometimes a

In Garrett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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§ 7 772 to mention, and with the stick opens his own way to heaven.

§ 7 769 So long as the body remains in the house hymns are chanted by the dervish, who also accompany the body to the grave, carrying censers, which they swing as they go. For several successive days the friends of the deceased visit his resting-place, men and women in separate parties, every morning and evening, the latter to weep and wail and the former to sit in silence, burning incense the while.*

§ 767 771 773 An water is one of the emblems of Food, the Life-giving Principle, the pouring of it into the mouth of the dying probably signifies, or it may be, is intended to confer, vitality after death, or metempsychosis in some form or other, this doctrine being believed to be held by the Turkis.

§ 767 4952 The only change made in their costume by the Kirghiz women as a sign of mourning is the substitution of a black veil for that usually worn out of doors.

* Comp. Badger, *The Nestorians, &c.*, p. 130.

just point, as it is with builders, soldiers, or any other 294
487
workmen, is important to establish, as it is almost never realized and represents a point from which the ellipsis of arguments can legitimately be begun. A certain number of items, such as handkerchiefs, scarves, and stockings, are to be had from the general merchants, and these keep a few manufactured European shirts and ties for the occasional [491] [392]
demand of the civil servant. Almost all of the clothing 294
of small children and women is made within the home, either 291
by the housewife herself or by one of several seamstresses who find occasional employment among the houses of wealthier people. A few items of man's clothing are completed in this way, for example, the scarves rolled into man's turbans have a fringe of threads extending about two inches beyond the ends of the cloth, and custom requires that these threads be rolled together and sewed to form thicker strands spaced at about an inch apart along the edge of the scarf, a task completed for a small consideration by one of the poorer housewives. In spite of the fact that clothing is [495]
relatively inexpensive (a man's casual jacket of the best quality costs, for both material and tailoring, some three *livres*, the approximate equivalent of eight American dollars), economy demands that it be used through a succession of persons in the family until finally worn out, and a great many garments, particularly those of children, have a tattered appearance. Usage, however, demands that at 294
least the children of every house appear at the feast which 855
ends Ramadan, *Zeriati Ramazan*, in clean, new garments, and 196

also begets, but their fringes must be prepared by local 291
connoisseurs. Folded diagonally and rolled, the scarves are bound around the head one over to the other, and one or more of the ends usually hung down to the shoulders. The cap is of white crocheted cloth and decorated with simple patterns in variously coloured thread, sometimes of gilt or silver. The scarves are characteristically an open black and white print, the ones so used in the shaping of head-cloth of the Arabs to the south, although some are a mild grey or black. The green turban which indicates a descendant of the tribe of the Prophet is worn in the same way, but is infrequently encountered. Only one man in Kawandus, an elderly blacksmith of humble station, appeared in it regularly. The kerchief, the red felt Turkish "fez," 293
has a limited and curious survival in Iraq, among the lower 184
order priests of the Shiite (Shaikhi) faith and Jewish money-changers. It is never seen in the town. A peculiar type of woolen cap, with a cloth bill in front, a round tassel on top, and a loose hanging which falls over the back of the neck, is found occasionally, affected by chieftains and their bodyguards. It is a peculiarity of a nomadic tribal group, the Shikak. In the Kawandus district it is taken to indicate a pugnacious or formidable character. It is difficult to decide on its origins. There is an old and 83
extremely widespread prejudice throughout the Islamic world 291
against headgear with brims or bills "because they do not permit the wearer to touch his forehead to the ground in prayer."

a matter of social status, and many women, flattering themselves, will hide their faces although their clothes have not warranted it, to the amusement and sometimes the respect of others. One noticed from a distance that an elderly woman of the lower class turned against a wall and concealed her face from public gaze of fixation. "The old fool," he said, "she thinks herself still a girl." The housewives of wealthier houses never appear in the streets unveiled, and the old, heavy covering of thirteen times has been replaced completely by the lighter yashiki, derived from the Arab cities. This garment is easily formed by knotting together two corners of a large piece of black cloth so as to make a tight circle at one end to the dimension of the head. This circle is placed around the skull with the knot at the nape of the neck and the whole cloth is tossed backwards, covering the hair and hanging down over the shoulders and back. The forward edges can be controlled with the hands and thrown across the face whenever necessary. Within their homes, most women use a simple headcloth, usually of white gauze, which falls over the shoulders and hangs to the waist, and, just as the men, are infrequently without something on their heads. Among the Kurds, however, it is a much greater shame for a girl to have her legs observed by a stranger than her face.

The rich garments of a wedding or the festival, particularly in wealthy houses, are of much the same type, with the addition of a few items and the better quality of

the waterside. Here bright colours are worn, typically 252
deep reds and blues, and a number of shawls, skirts, and
aprons make up the costume. A white blouse and a light
jacket with long sleeves are often worn. For a headdress,
the headcloth is white and is coloured silks is found, as
well as a cap to which a circular disk, the kurk, some five
inches in diameter, of embossed gold or silver has been
sewn and around which a turban of silk is affixed. This
last is one of a woman's dearest possessions, and the kurk,
outfitted with cap and turban whenever necessary, is either
bestowed as a favorite daughter or kept until death.
Whether or not a woman "dresses up" each day depends very
much on her own personality. In some houses of the wealthy,
the mistress wears only a simple print frock and the white
headcloth, while in others, sometimes of lower station, the
wife is always resplendent in a multiplicity of garments and
jewelry. The servants of Lali Khan, herself in perpetual
mourning, are always "dressed for a wedding." In cold
weather women of any class do not use a coat, but add
undergarments and a shawl.

The wives of government personnel, who are for a 554
large part Arabs, have the same social origins as their 562
husbands, the educated middle and upper class families of
Iraq. Some of the officials are unaccompanied by their
spouses, and those of lower rank, the mulla, the junior
army officers, and the teachers, are usually unmarried.
Nevertheless a number of these women are resident in the

given by his tomb, as in 'Omar Shahid, 'Omar the Watching Dream, by a nickname, as in Shaikh Muhsin, Shaikh the Spindle, or by his birthplace or region, as in 'Ali Duwel, 'Ali the Persian. Those who claim descent from the tribe of the Prophet may prefix their name with sayyid, "Lord," as in Egypt (Lane of Dahna, and have the right of wearing the green turban. Only the Kurdish nobility use titles such as beg or beg after their names, although the townspeople often apply these to officials and officers of the government elite. The only titles which precede the proper name seem to be hajji, a pilgrim, mulla, a priest, sayyid, a descendant of the Muhammadan tribe, and shaykh, an aristocratic or religious distinction. The titles which follow the proper name are Turkish, agha, beg, effendi, and pasha. These are used in combination. The chief mulla of Sawudan is formally addressed as Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Arfendi. No local picture could be discovered to the question of calling a child by his proper name in public, a custom extremely widespread elsewhere in the Middle East, nor did there appear to be any marked attempt to conceal the sex of a male child, for example, dressing him as a girl, to avoid the evil eye.

When able to walk, infants usually join their brothers and sisters in the common bed and accompany them in their play. The older girls are charged with their care, and a child of the wealthy or the aristocracy is rarely left unattended. Those of the lower classes are allowed to

the two groups, and dancing in the courtyard or before the house for both sexes. The host pays the barber or darvish, the mulla, and the musicians during the meal, and their return can be extremely large ("as much as a hundred dinars," or $280.00). The surgeon returns to examine the wounds and to redress them later in the day. In some cases there is a parade through the streets prior to the operation, the son of the host seated on a donkey surrounded by a crowd made up of the other boys, the barber, and others. As can be seen, this event makes a tremendous impression on the juvenile mind, and is characteristically painful. Boys who have undergone circumcision wear a dishdasha or cassock, and may be seen holding it out in front of them to avoid touching the sensitive wound. Clitorectomy is never practiced, and is spoken of by the townspeople as a "Shiite" or "Persian" abomination.

Children enjoy a relatively untroubled childhood, gradually called away from it in adolescence by the demands of further education, their fathers' trades, or marriage. Boys and girls of the town may mingle freely until the veil separates them at the age of fifteen or sixteen, and the democracy of youthful associations, sons and daughters of all classes of society meeting together, has already been noticed. The boys and girls, however, separate into two groups even before the segregation of adolescence takes place. One of the most popular sports of the boys is a mock war in which commanders are selected by the

until nightfall, and the time intervening is occupied by feasting and dancing. The wedding-dance is the ghe'i, a round dance performed by a circle of men and women, sometimes including the bride or bridegroom, holding each other by the shoulders, with musicians playing the small drum, tambourine, and the wooden flute in the center. The wedding-guests have sent offerings of food, and the father of the youth in return favors them with gifts of handkerchiefs, turbans, and other articles of clothing. Most of the women, in the presence of so many male relatives, are unveiled, although a few remain indoors. The bride is carefully dressed in bright materials, and wears a white headcloth which can be drawn across the face as a veil. Kurdish chieftains attend weddings in their districts, whether of Muslims or Nestorian Christians, and enjoy themselves sitting on horseback, watching the festivities and firing their weapons. They lend color and prestige to the celebration, and are welcome visitors. Government officials, in contrast, are rarely encountered at such an event. When the bride and bridegroom are ready to retire, the latter is equipped with a present, a coin or a piece of jewelry. At the door of their room, an old woman of the house, often a servant, waits with a glass of water or sherbet. The bride drinks half of this, and her husband the remainder, giving the old woman the present in exchange. Alone together, the bride is expected, in an almost ritualized fashion, to repulse her husband's

the son-in-law of the Prophet and his descendants. Something of the divisive aversion of the Sunnite Kurd for his eastern neighbor has already been seen, although phrased as much in ethnic as in religious terms. Of the four Medieval Sunnite schools of religious law, Hanifite, Malikite, Shafi'ite, and Hanbelite, the Kurds nominally belong to that founded by Abu Hanifa (d. 767), originally a following noted for its liberal tendencies and the admission of logic in formulating legislation, now, however, crystallized into a rite not differing too greatly from its surviving fellows. 795

Beyond this brief classification, it is of no purpose here to enter into an extended discussion of the theological content of Islam insofar as it does not pertain to daily life, for, not only are these matters exhaustively and competently treated elsewhere, they are largely of no moment to the townsman or chieftain. The investigator was often told, on inquiring into some matter of religion, that "one must ask the mulla these questions," just as many Christians refer weightier queries to their priest or minister. In noting the Shiite insistence that the successors of the Prophet be of his own blood, the Sayyid ("lord") or descendant of the Tribe of Muhammad might be mentioned. Many persons in the Rowandus district, as well as several in the town itself, lay claim to this distinction, which carries with it the prerogative of wearing a green turban and the enjoyment, if they choose to exploit it, of a reputation for sanctity. This descent 771 121 173 554 792 [292]

officiate in the mosque. Such persons are believed by the villagers to be able to cure illnesses and confer other blessings through some physical quality in their persons. The office of mulla is far from lucrative, although some are privately wealthy, and they are expected to be models of modest and frugal behavior. One cannot use obscenity in the presence of a mulla, and no one would think of inviting him to a drinking party. Most persons rise when a mulla enters the room, although the chieftains, if the mulla is a regular visitor, generally ignore this. The most respectful way of greeting such a person is to shake hands with him, and then kiss the palm of one's hand and place it over the heart. Mullas are not bound to celibacy, and the three in Rowanduz were married. The sons often follow their father's calling, as in the case of Mulla 'Abd al-Karim Effendi, whose father was Mulla As'ad Effendi. Of 'Abd al-Karim's family, which belongs to the wealthy commoner group, one brother was a landowner and his nephew a teacher. The mullas always wear garments in the Arab style, a single turban bound flat around a skull-cap, a long cloth cassock, and, in winter, a loosely-woven robe.

The mulla is assisted by a layman who fills the office of mu'azzin (from Arabic ażżanha, after adhan, the call to prayer) in addition to his regular occupation. In Rowanduz this was one of the older townsmen, a little man full of his own importance. The primary task of the mu'azzin is giving the calls to prayer, again, a chant,

embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, *qundîl or pâpuš*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left footwear identical. European footwear of "Boot"s make, from high-heeled black patent leather in summer use, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. 291 [197]

Elements connected with Islam, internal garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of 292
cloak and face veil, *abâ-u-pâlî*, which completely concealed both the face and body.

The face veil, *pâlî*, (E. 2332)is rectangular, 0.46 m. ×0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

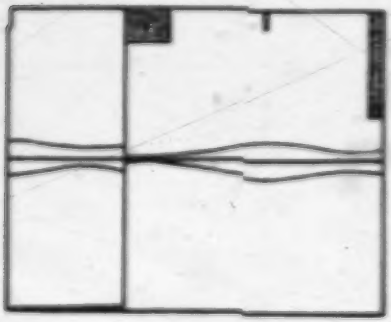
The cloak, *abâ*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 291
1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion

[Text continues Top of P. 95 — Analyst]

Fig. 38. Woman wearing the black *pâlî* and the black cloak, *abâ*, dressed for leaving the house. Suleimaniya.

[292] [352] [531]

Fig. 40. Diagram showing the cut of the *abâ* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted line indicates the tuck. Scale 1:30.



4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

peculiar to that village, is always used by the peasant women on their way to the fruit plantations at Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without this bundle on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Derkan whilst threading tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Topzawa, and was a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an extra long kirtle lifted up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver bosses[2]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a hood with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hawraman[3]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant woman dons the black veil and *abā* when visiting towns.

The educated urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[4]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the home, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and *abā*. Under this her dress could be a costume composed of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser casing round her hips—an arrangement she transformed to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer kirtles of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disclosed the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (E. 229?) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black *abā* my interpreter might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is out in the Kurdish dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this educated urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

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585
199
352
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Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,11b). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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291
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[832]

and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

585 from which clay stairs, with high, uneven steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses lining the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 15. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother[45], came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had stood up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face[46], reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress[47], which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific[48]. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder[49], whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseaux, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 304 301 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing I otherwise only saw among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

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585 that the husband will have the future mastery in the home[10], an explanation I did not hear given for the blow suffered by the Kurdish bride, and one I am personally reluctant to accept. Both in regard to the symbolic sacrifice of the fowl and the blow given by the groom to the bride, we have a feature of pre-Islamic culture. As Nikitine points out, the Kurds possess a culture layer older than Islam, which becomes evident at the most important events in life: birth, marriage and burial[11].

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585 369 In urban circles in Sulaimani I had an opportunity to follow the bride's last day in her old home before she was handed over to the bridegroom in the afternoon, a wedding viewed from the opposite angle to that last described. Even though, as opposed to the weddings I witnessed in the villages, this took place in an educated milieu, it will be possible to point both to resemblances and divergencies in the course of the wedding that can have a common value across the borders dividing the several environments.

At this wedding the family's own men, that is to say the bride's male relatives, left the home early in the morning and did not reappear until late in the evening. It was said that they spent the day in company with the bridegroom in a small two-roomed town house that had been rented and furnished for the young couple, as the bridegroom's family home lay far from Sulaimani, and the two people most concerned, who both belonged to the educated milieu, wanted some months later to seek positions as school teachers in one of the villages where it was apparently intended to begin educating girls also. The effects acquired with the bride price were brought to the future home of the couple some days before the wedding. The day before the wedding this house was put in order by the women of the bride's family, assisted by girl friends. The bride had not been present when the house was taken, only the bride's sister and the bridegroom. It was to act as a substitute for his family home, the place where the bride was to be received and the marriage consummated. The similarity was further increased by the fact that it was in the courtyard and loggia of this quite small house that the groom's visiting female relatives lodged. However, the picture was spoiled to some extent because the arrangement of the two rooms and loggia was done under the firm direction of the bride's sister to such an extent that she locked the three arranged rooms: the bed-room, the guest reception room and the small windowless store room, in order to stop the children brought by the bridegroom's family, who were all over the place, from upsetting the arrangement. Still her behaviour looked rather like a demonstration of the superiority of the urban cultural milieu over that of the visiting village aristocracy. As many of the ladies of Sulaimani as the bride's house and courtyard could accomodate were invited to be present on the day of the wedding to greet the bride, keep her company during the day, and in hired cars to accompany her on her drive round the town, a tour that marked the conclusion of the festivities and ended at the house of the young pair by the handing over of the bride to the bridegroom. Clad in Kurdish costume, the bride sat in state in the courtyard of her old home from the early morning and received visitors, who were offered tea, cakes and *sherbet*, unfermented grape juice. Everything the home possessed in the way of furniture and mattresses was placed in the courtyard and the house was filled with women and children. At about 3 p.m. the bride retired to the house's guest reception room with her sister and some of the other women. That day the whole house was occupied by the women. Here the bride completely changed her clothes, becoming a European "white bride", the

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Kurdish ornaments being replaced by imitation jewellery. Wn the bridal gown of white satin embroidered with sequins went a short, white bridal veil, diadem and bride's bouquet of white paper flowers. Thus bedecked she was placed in a chimney wooden chr in the middle of the courtyard to be gazed at. The cars should have come at 5 p.m., but were delayd, which was felt as a great disgrace for the whole family. At last the narrow alley outside the house was filled with big cars. The one in which the bride was to be was decorated with a red cotton tablecloth on the radiator and silk bands of the same colour tied all round the body so that it looked lo e chocolate box. As in the villages, red or reddish-yellow cars considered suspicious.

The bride's mother then glided out of the picture and the bde started on her round accompanied by the family's midwife who was to return with the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity, which was expected before 10 p.m. that evening. All female guests present got into the other cars to follow the bride.

As opposed to the village weddings, where the bride was fetched from her home in the morning by men in cars paid by the bridegroom's family, in the educated milieu she was driven at 5.30 p.m. to the bridal house in a car escorted by women. All the cars we ordered and paid for by the bride's family. During the day the men had been in company with th bridegroom, leaving the house on the arrival of the bride. The women of the bride's home remained in the bridal house. Their presence in the courtyard and the loggia just outside the windows of the bridal chamber, caused the bridal couple to abandon it and to withdraw to the little store room on a kind made on the floor from the extra mattresses intended for sitting on in the loggia and for sleepin; not on the roof.

In connection with the urban milieu wedding, a dinner was gen a week later in the bride's parental home for the men of the two families, the bride's father beig the host. The women of the house naturally cooked the food, but delivered it to the door of theguest room without entering. As soon as the eating was over the men left the house. The party was n as detached from the women as was technically possible in this urban home. On the same day thenewly-married wife paid her first visit to her old home since the wedding, to take a bath and to receive a gift in the form of coins to hang on her necklace, in this case amounting to 42 Din—a kind of reward for having done her family honour. During her stay in her family home she wore a veil over herhead in her father's presence. She was "shy", declared her sister. This was, then, a suggestion of an avoidance phenomenon in relation to the father on the part of the newly-married daughter.

The importance of virginity. As maintained by several quarters[22], the decisive feature about what, failing a better term, we call the 'wedding', that is to say the consummation of the marriage, is with the Turks, Arabs and Orientals in general the sign of virginity. "If she is not a virgin we must kill her", was my interpreter's laconic answer to my question about her sister, whom I saw sitting in the courtyard in a white European wedding dress. She thus runthe same risk as brides I had seen in the villages, who would be killed if the accompanying woman did not return home the visible proofs of the bride's virginity. In answer to my question as to who in given circumstances would carry out the sentence I was told: the brother, the father, the cousin. However, my interpreter added that before

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

commenced from the mosque. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, said. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, women by the mother and close female relatives. In this house it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ornaments and washing gloves was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also here sewn by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the ornaments. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[90]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1954 Dittrich[91] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Jeyrhoff[92], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[93] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bathroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the tent's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The ornaments must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the city, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

6: Shaaban E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

entered the institution which, so far as I could understand, hardly reached higher than our purchases of former days.

The ritual fast in the month of *ramaḍān* began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission.

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so[1], believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sergalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connexion with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the severe and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey.

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sura 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the uneducated urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the *sūq* and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jidda, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims.

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jidda, whilst the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Dis. (say £200)[2].

In the same way that the returned male pilgrim mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, *sibydil*, must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is

normally the case when the funnel-shaped veils are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured photographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *dū-l-ḥijja* namely 9-12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continuous and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two unstitched draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *Ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *Ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safā* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the insistence of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at *Marwa*, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's house at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, oval, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The fleet of children was composed of boys and girls from 3-4 up to 11 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

131 personality in England, the 'man in the street'—worries little about such things. Provided he has enough money to buy his tea and sugar, enough land to cultivate his cereals, and possibly a few goats or sheep, he is content.

[844] The Kurd is born into a world of dancing and feasting, for relatives and [857] friends celebrate his birth for three whole days and nights. As soon as he grows old enough to stand he toddles about the flat roof of his house, occasionally throwing stones over the edge at his brothers be- [852] neath. When he reaches the age of five he • [292] is given clothes exactly like those of his father—in miniature. He is a proud lad when he puts on his first pair of baggy trousers, a thick, quilted jacket, and several yards of coloured cloth wound round his waist, more silken squares tied round his head, and a yard or more of excess shirt-sleeve which he winds back over his cuff.

852 He has another great festival when he is

304 [text continues on p. 548]